1: Karsten--89 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
287, 854 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros still frequently cover their newborn babes with the kaḿaka bark stuff, or prepare small hammocks of it which serve them as cradles."

l: Karsten--89 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
287 (1928-29)

"Both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are aware that formerly shirts and loin-cloths of bark were customary among them, and more strictly speaking, clothes of the bark obtained from the big tree which the Jibaros call kámaka and the Indians of Canelos llanchama. This tree is, I believe, identical with the silk-cotton tree (Bombax ceiva). Large pieces of the bark were carefully stripped off the huge stem, soaked in water, and beaten with clubs so as to make the hard bark softer and more appropriate as clothing. When this prepared bark stuff had dried, certain black and red ornaments were painted on it with genipa or roucou. Some fifty years ago such bark clothes were commonly used by the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The Jibaros and the Canelos Indians know and prepare the bark stuff even to-day, but only use it to lie on and as a cover at night."

26: Brüning--58 [6] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 287

Formerly they are said to have worn bast clothing. A white person in Huavico told me that bast is still worn along the upper course of the Senepe River. I was able to acquire for my collection a piece of bark cloth (kamúš). It is 92 cm. long and 100 cm. wide. The two corners at the sides that measure 100 cm. are tied into a knot, from which I conclude that this was a woman's dress. An old Curaca in Huavico made a replica of such a piece upon my request. The bark comes from a tree which is likewise called kamúš.

28: Tessman--344-347
116, 292, 301, 463, 287

(No date) 1930

Jivaro-1

"There are no hats, but they have a head decoration (táwas) made of fur of feathers. One of the chief skills of the men is the art of arranging feather ornaments and ornaments made of other materials. The head ornaments are the most important ones. There is a great variety of such ornaments and they serve a variety of functions, some being used for feasts others for warlike expeditions. A festive head ornament is the wide band made of yellow and red toucan feathers. These feathers are used also on other decorations. The toucan band is simply placed around the forehead and tied in the back. Most of the head ornaments are war decorations. There are headbands (or, rather, circlets) and caps which cover the entire head. There are circlets that are open at the crown of the head, a fact which, on account of the trappings, is not apparent until one analyzes the ornament. One of the circlets is especially peculiar: it consists of liana strips that are concentrically arranged but leaving space between them. They are placed around the head like the brim of a crownless hat or like a 'halo'. On the outside the circlets are decorated and therefore widened by means of feathers or seeds (for instance Chrysophyllum). I call head crowns head decorations that are placed on the head like a crown. They consist of fur strips which stay stiff by themselves; other ornaments, such as bird skins, are frequently attached. In most instances they use the fur of monkeys or the tiger cat. But the essential part of this head ornament is a broad ring (or circlet) which

is often rather crudely plaited; on the outside it is covered with strips of fur or bird skin, sometimes with actual bird wings, which follow closely the shape of the circlet or project upward at the sides. In many instances bird skins dangle from the edges. I thought that many of these head ornaments were funny-looking, [347] reminding me very much of the tastelessly trimmed up ladies' hats of a bygone fashion era... The funny impression is heightened by the feminine facial features and the feminine hairdo of the Indians. I also saw fur caps, which were nothing but skins that were pulled over the head. The head of the animal was in front; it was slightly stuffed, and the eyes of the animal were replaced with red Erythrina fruits (huairuru L.). Bird skins, too, were prepared in this manner. The trumpeter bird, for instance. In the case of other fur caps the fur had been pulled over a plaited ring or over a base plaited in hexagonal meshes. It surprized me that the natives used monkey fur almost exclusively. I noticed the use of the fur of the Pithecia (tocón L.), of the Saimiri and of the nocturnal monkey."

28: Tessman--350 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 412, 287

The fire-fan (awáxin) is made of the feathers of the curassow bird; the quills are connected with two sticks (of the type shown on Plate 76, Fig. 13). Rivet (L'Anthropologie, XVIII, p. 589) reproduces a fire-fan which is extremely beautiful: a handle is plaited to the simple fan. There are no plaited fire-fans.

The broom (matéi) is made of the ribs of the pinnate leaves of Astrocaryum (aff.) vulgare (chambira L.). But there are also brooms made of the leafy stems of a grass with broad blades.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

home-woven kilts wear the newer of the pair. Less frequently, a man also possesses a pair of trousers for special wear (see Plate 16). A few women, who have obtained machine-manufactured cloth, make their own "party dresses." Sometimes a man has an Achuara-made kilt, which he saves for visiting.

Families lacking woven cloth make kilts and dresses from bark cloth. Such clothing is much inferior in durability, and is considered an indication of family indolence and weakness.

Nuŋuí

Agricultural subsistence, especially, is connected with a system of belief which surrounds an "earth mother" named Nuŋuí. Whether Nuŋuí is best viewed as a class of crop fairies or as a goddess appears to be a difficult matter to decide.[8] On the one hand, the Jívaro usually speak of Nuŋuí in the singular, but they deny that there is just one, saying that there are "many," although all are identical in their attributes. For convenience, Nuŋuí will be referred to here in the singular.

Nuŋuí, it is believed, is responsible for pushing the crops up through the ground, i.e., for their growth. Without her help, a woman cannot expect to be successful as a gardener and, therefore, engages in various practices to attract Nuŋuí to the garden, and to keep her there. Such practices are based upon a knowledge of Nuŋuí's two main demands from the Jívaro: to be given a place to dance and to be provided with "babies."

It is believed that Nuŋuí, who is about three feet high, very fat, and dressed in a black *tavaĉī*, according to those who have seen her in dreams and hallucinogen-induced visions,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jivaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jivaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 291 439 287 come less common than in former times, this change also being attributed to the growing supply of clothing and cloth obtained through trading partners.

178 291 901 237 439 Feather headdresses and bird skins are prepared in larger quantities than in previous decades, a trend ascribed to the increasing demand for these items for trade to the frontier Jivaro in exchange for firearms and machetes. Featherwork of Achuara origin is also more plentiful, and some of it is traded on to the frontier Jivaro in the west.

178 105 In summation, it can be said that the technological introductions, especially steel cutting tools and firearms, have become the most desired valuables among the interior Jivaro because of their great efficiency compared to the aboriginal equivalents. They have been put to the same basic exchange uses as traditional Jivaro valuables such as featherwork, i.e., they have been used as gifts to acquire services and reinforce obligations. However, the great demand for these new, highly valued goods has made them more significant instruments for attaining social ends, and the creative changes which have occurred in the culture following these introductions appear to be primarily connected to the acquisition, accumulation and distribution of the new items as valuables. Such developments have included the rise of intra- and inter-tribal trading partnerships, the growth in numbers of shamans, and the creation of intra- and inter-tribal shaman hierarchies. Through these developments, the technological introductions also may have indirectly contributed to the decline in inter-tribal warfare and to the reported increase in intra-tribal witchcraft and feuding. The total effect of the new technology on food production seems quite uncertain, with wild-plant gathering, pig-raising, and agriculture apparently showing declines, the latter two since at least about 1915.